20c JUNE 18, 1951

New Republic

Harold L. Ickes on: DON McCARRAN

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Way We Live Now

SIR: My children don't know what butter tastes like. The children of some of my friends don't know what fresh milk tastes like. And a common gripe among us is the fact that our stores haven't begun to carry dried eggs, so that we might have one more means by which to try to bring our grocery bills within reason in today's unmanageable family budget. As for a hint of the joys of a juicy roast of beef, the indescribable flavor and savor of a broiled steak—those are as hazy an idea as hoop skirts in our children's minds. In fact, I don't think they've even heard them mentioned enough to *have* an idea about them. Hamburger mixed with bread or cereal to cut the needed quantity in half is the closest they come to an appreciation of beef.

Was there ever a time when two pork chops (or even one) were a reasonable serving for one person? Today I buy my pork in roast shoulder form and squeeze five meals out of it.

The British today know austerity which we cannot yet quite realize. We Americans are still eating well, best of all, feeling well; our diet, dried or fresh, still provides the food values essential to health. But the British have one advantage over us in the matter. They know why their eating habits have changed, why their food makes no claim to appetizing quality, why the once-familiar phrases "yum-yum" or "my mouth is watering" now seem florid, if not decadent.

It has been said that ham and eggs together provide a better kind of nourishment than either does alone. But such a combination has entered the luxury category, for either alone is cheaper than both. And so one more sacrifice in good eating must be made. Perhaps the only actual loss is an aesthetic one—the pleasure of the senses: the sight and smell of the rosy ham and the golden-eyed egg nestled together on a warm plate, flanked by the rich, brown sight and smell of coffee (one impossible item the children don't need—and yet, what's home without the smell of coffee spreading through to the wakening household?).

Lately, having come the hard way to the understanding that we were living above our $4,500 income in persisting in the extravagances of serving hamburger straight, fresh milk, and fish and beans twice a week, I have learned some of the practices used by my more alert friends in cutting down grocery expenditure. They include buying stale bread at half-price, serving a multi-purpose food made of soybeans and dried vegetable extracts regularly, lard instead of shortening, bacon grease instead of margarine (if one has indulged oneself in buying bacon at all).

Several stores have now stopped selling bread at half-price; I don't know what they are doing with the stale bread but I am cynical enough to believe they are probably selling it at full price now. The white margarine, once available for about 25 percent less than the colored, is no longer sold since the yellow-margarine tax was eliminated. Nuts for cookies, cookies themselves and even the materials to make them, coconut, chocolate, mushrooms, pickles—none of the extras adorns my shelves any longer. Dried milk has gone up two cents in price since I started to buy it two months ago, and even now, skimmed though it is, costs the same as dried whole milk did three years ago. Why does an increase in demand now result in increased prices? I thought profits grew with increased volume of sales; but such profits are not enough for producers now; prices are not based on cost but on "what the traffic will bear."

There is another whole article that might be written, or perhaps a dozen sermons, on the benefits to us as Americans of learning once again how to get along on little. But I would like to know just what bottomless pit it is into which we are pouring the good earning years of our lives, when we and our children are still a family unit, important to the country for other reasons than to fatten the pocketbooks of someone, when we are living in houses too small for our growing needs, driving ancient cars likely to break down at any minute to get our children to school and to do the myriad other errands incidental to family life. The things which once were counted luxuries and could be sacrificed for or done without, such as refrigerators and automobiles, now are necessities. Where is the ice man, the vegetable man, the egg-and-butter man that we can fall back on when these necessities rise beyond our reach? If deliveries are available they are paid for in still higher prices for the goods delivered. If the family cares at all about going out together, anywhere, the cost of transportation alone of a simple jaunt down town would be something like $1 for one city bus round trip. To go out of town to see grandmother in any vehicle except the family auto would mean that grandmother would be visited once a year to the four times a year we allow ourselves now.

As hardships go, perhaps these little items don't seem like much. To the rest of the world, perhaps they are nothing. But I am jealous of the standard of living that America once maintained, and

(*Continued on page 4*)

BANDWAGON

Caesar's Wives

Delegates to the national convention of American Gold Star Mothers are being required for the first time in the group's history to sign a pledge of loyalty to the government. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

Simple Good Taste

Emily Post has invited 20 top food writers and editors to fly 500 miles to and from a buffet luncheon in her summer home in Martha's Vineyard on [the] publication date of the latest Emily Post guide to gracious living, THE EMILY POST COOKBOOK. – *From a release of Funk & Wagnalls Company.*

Construct, Team, Construct!

"Let's concentrate on constructive things," he said. "Let's get out there and win some football games next fall. Let's continue building Washington State College." – *Regents President James McCluskey as quoted in the* Evergreen, *Pullman, Wash.*

As I Was Saying . . .

Then he presented Bill Hendrix, Grand Dragon of the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Tallahassee, Fla. Hendrix . . . delivered a lecture on the purposes of the Klan. It is fighting Communism, he asserted, and has no other purpose. He attacked those Jews who seek to undermine the government, incite Negroes to riot and assault on white women. – *From the* News and Courier, *Charleston, S. C.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

GOOD OLD General MacArthur started out Wednesday to make five speeches in five Texas cities. He has been brooding up there in his privileged sanctuary of the Waldorf Towers, and now the American de Gaulle is going to break his moody silence. It will be good to hear that rich, mellow voice again, vibrating the chord of patriotism and dispelling all our little human doubts and uncertainties. The voice of omniscience has been silent too long; we look forward to it.

Secretary Acheson testified for eight days, answering questions of 26 Senators in a record of a third of a million words, bringing gloom to Republicans and joy to Democrats. He did much to tear down the "big lie," i.e., error converted into accepted fact by constant iteration. For over a year the Republicans have been boasting what they would do to Acheson when they got him on the witness stand, but when it happened, they found themselves without much to say.

The highest private compliment paid Acheson was the mutual recriminations among Republican hatchetmen that the other fellow had not adequately prepared his case. The highest public compliment was the retreat of Senator Brewster (R, Me.) from the committee room, where the Secretary was too much for him, to the floor of the Senate, where Acheson could not follow. There Brewster denounced Acheson to his heart's content, making all the points he dared not raise when Acheson, the big bully, was around. Summing up eight days of hearings, it was a case of throwing the lions to the martyr.

Back in 1942, Congress approved a $500 million credit for Nationalist China of which $200 million was in gold. This latter was transferred physically to China, designed as a reserve for currency stabilization. A year later the US Treasury reported the transaction a failure. Why? Because inefficient and corrupt figures around Chiang Kai-shek manipulated the gold to make fantastic personal profits in China's inflation and then cached the money in strongboxes, around the world. The question is whether the well-heeled "China lobby" is now drawing on such funds for its attacks on Acheson's Far Eastern policy?

T. V. Soong, Chiang's brother-in-law, reputed to be one of the world's wealthiest men, declined to go into exile on Formosa and is now reported to be living in the US. From 1946 to 1949, the Central Chinese News Agency, wholly owned by the Chiang government, is reputed to have spent several hundred millions to influence American opinion. According to Justice Department records, William J. Goodwin (formerly associated with Gerald L. K. Smith) was hired by Chiang's government as a lobbyist; his salary for two years was $65,000 with expenses running as high as $640 a day. He boasts of his influence over Congressmen. Other figures connected by hearsay with the lobby are Joseph P. Kamp, operating head of the Constitutional Educational League, and Robert Harriss, a cotton broker, who handled Father Coughlin's speculations in silver. Some of the American gold sent to China probably came back in what Secretary Acheson testified was a "very serious" effort by a Chinese group to corner the soybean market in the US in 1949. (See *NR*, May 21, 1951.) The Agriculture Department knocked this on the head.

The respectable front men for the pro-Chiang lobby now are William Loeb, Manchester, N. H., publisher and president of the American China Policy Association, and wealthy Alfred Kohlberg of New York, founder of the Association, whose $1.5 million-a-year import business from China has depended on Chiang control. Kohlberg started the magazine *Plain Talk*, now combined with *The Freeman*, and his anti-Acheson

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group has supplied Sen. Joe McCarthy (R, Wis.) with much of his material. Kohlberg's latest appearance was as sponsor of young Navy lieutenant Evans who was fired after writing nasty public letters about Korean policies—a kind of capsule MacArthur. Henry Luce, publisher of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, often takes the China lobby line; his wife Clare Booth Luce, former Congresswoman from Connecticut, was once president of Kohlberg's American China Policy Association. Congressional investigation of the China lobby is, of course, long overdue.

A lot of people have hoped the Macy-Gimbels row in New York meant that prices are headed down and inflation is over. The facts are just the opposite, as Truman will say in his radio address Thursday. What happened was that everybody (including retail stores) went on a buying spree when the Korean War started. Now department stores are loaded with near-peak inventories while consumer buying has slackened off. There will be cases of distress selling, of course, but the long-range trend of prices is up. The big danger is that Congress will get the notion that pressure has slackened and won't vote the controls which are desperately needed.

Notes: Joe McCarthy and Colonel McCormick planted the "big lie" in Maryland and defeated conservative Senator Tydings by linking him with "Communism"; now Jon Jonkel, who managed the smear job, pays a $5,000 fine for violating state election laws, but Jonkel's beneficiary, GOP Senator Butler, stays in the Senate for six years. . . Butler says he is "shocked" by Jonkel's conviction, but not enough to resign, of course. . . . Sixty days' free hospital care for all citizens over 65 (the cut-off age in present voluntary hospitalization insurance systems) will soon be proposed by the Administration, the first big New Deal social welfare proposal in a long while. . . . Newspapers which normally froth at strikes are treating the latest with extraordinary calm; this strike is by the meat industry against price controls.

Washington T.R.B

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

I want to know what has happened to it. Why can't my children know the same pleasures in eating that I took for granted when I was a child? The depression blighted the youth of my generation; we saw our fathers crushed in spirit, our homes lost, our mothers become old and hopeless, our brothers caught up in psychological trauma, our sisters, lacking any advantages, marrying the wrong men. Then came the war; and now, a catastrophe as great as those two—the great inflation; which I choose as the most horrible, for it is a cancerous growth, without reason or order, incomprehensible, parasitic, living on the good life of this nation until that life must become drab and invalid or dead. Is there no doctor in the house?

Raleigh, N. C. MRS. MILDRED REYNOLDS

[We are grateful to Mrs. Reynolds. We would appreciate more letters from readers on the way Americans live now. – THE EDITORS]

ADA Summer School

SIR: Some of your readers may be interested in attending the summer school which is being planned by Americans for Democratic Action. Its theme will be "Politics from Now to 1952." It will be devoted to discussion of the issues, foreign and domestic, that will predominate in the coming campaign, and the practical means by which liberalism can be effective at the polls. Speakers will include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chester Bowles, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and others.

The school will be held July 21-29 at Bard College, which is two hours by train up the Hudson from New York City. For further information, write the undersigned at 1740 K St., NW, Washington 6, D. C.

DAVID WILLIAMS
Director, ADA Summer School
Washington, D. C.

China's "Third Force"

SIR: After building up to a terrific climax, the editorial, "Has Acheson Surrendered?" (*NR*, May 28), leaves one dangling at the end of a rope. Where is the nucleus of this "third force" that requires encouragement to lead a revolt against the incumbent leaders in China? It is true that "its presence would provide the great incentive to revolt in China that is lacking today," but so far the United States has not been able to uncover this nebulous democratic group.

In saying "They [the Chinese people] will be less anti-American than anti-Soviet only if we demonstrate in action that they alone can overthrow Mao Tse-tung," the *NR* is referring to its earlier statements concerning "disengaging ourselves from Chiang Kai-shek" and "assurances that we have no ambitions on Formosa." I agree with those policies, but how that indicates to the Chinese that they alone can overthrow their present leader is beyond me. That third force has to be more than a figment of the imagination. . . .

Kudos and huzzahs to Philip Norris for his clever analogy, "Minucius to MacArthur," and to the cartoonist who drew the accompanying illustration of today's Minucius. I really laughed (as did all those to whom I showed it) upon first seeing it. 'Twas a classic.

LAWRENCE GOULD
University Heights, Ohio

How the Army Does It

SIR: What is wrong with the Army Information Program? It seems to me that the Army could very well afford to devote more than one hour once a week to its information program for enlisted men taking their required basic training. These sessions are conducted as a rule by unqualified cadre-men or non-commissioned officers who are lacking in the proper training and education. The sessions are unorganized, trite in content and feature the "good soldier" aspect to the nation's problems.

This missive is prompted by the desire of the Army's trainees to absorb valuable information presented in a competent, matter-of-fact manner. Sugar-coating the subject matter is fine for Boy Scouts but the men in today's army are definitely not malleable Boy Scouts.

My sincere belief is that in addition to building the bodies of men, some attention should be given to improving their thought process and education. On this count, the Army Information Program has been lamentably anemic. I do hope that some improvement will be made, if not for us at least for the succeeding groups which follow us into those classrooms.

PVT. JOHN C. ANASTAPLO
Fort Jackson, S.C.

Only 2.35

SIR: In the *New Republic* of May 28 I reviewed *The Prodigal Century and Versus*, by H. P. Fairchild, and attributed to the author, by implication, a statement that the population of the world is now 2.85 billion. This was an error because of misreading of a figure in Dr. Fairchild's book; it should have been "2.35 billion."

Bethesda, Md. ANTHONY NETBOY

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New Republic

WHAT THE COURT HAS DESTROYED

ON JUNE 4, 1951, the Supreme Court of the US paid tyranny the tribute of imitation. It stepped to the front in the long retreat from the spirit and genius of American freedom carried forward from Jefferson's time to the days of Holmes, Brandeis, Cardozo and Murphy and now echoed only in the lonely protests of Justices Douglas and Black.

The majority opinion upholding the Smith Act which punishes opinion and substitutes subjective notion for objective test as a standard of judgment is the most dramatic delinquency of the Court. Whatever its ultimate impact may be on all citizens, through weakening the First Amendment, its immediate impact falls on only a small band of conspirators.

In contrast the status and dignity of three million public servants is undermined by the Court in its majority opinion, handed down the same day, on local loyalty oaths. This opinion is as grave, or more grave in its threat to tolerance, than the opinion upholding the Smith Act, and since it has passed into law with barely a protesting voice, it is this opinion which we protest against first.

By this decision, entitled *Garner v. Board of Public Work*, the Court has placed constitutional force behind the efforts of states and municipalities to use test oaths to drive political non-conformists from public office. It validated a Los Angeles ordinance requiring loyalty oaths and affidavits from all city officeholders and employees. It curtly dismissed the grave threats to individual freedom implicit in such a requirement. It rested its decision on the naïve assumption that Los Angeles has done no more than establish "an employment qualification of loyalty to the state and the United States." The making of that assumption symbolizes one of the more melancholy tragedies of our day, the tragedy of sanctioning the subtle corrosion of constitutional liberties under the guise of promoting loyalty and security.

The Los Angeles decision bestows the mantle of legality on local witch hunts carried on without benefit of jury or due process of law. The program which it sustains has counterparts, in one degree or another, in at least 33 states and in several cities, including Detroit. The Federal Government, moreover, has for a number of years required applicants and employees to foreswear beliefs and affiliations of a revolutionary nature. All of these expurgatory oath programs have now been judicially anointed and sanctified. No serious constitutional hurdles stand in the way of their enforcement and extension. Additional governmental units, spurred by this decision and goaded by patriotic zealots, may be expected to take up the loyalty hue and cry against their employees.

Under the Los Angeles scheme, each employee must subscribe to an oath stating that he does not now advise, advocate or teach the violent overthrow of the state or Federal Government and that he is not now a member of, or affiliated with, any organization advocating such an overthrow. He must also swear that he has not engaged in this type of subversiveness at any time since 1943, five years before the enactment of the ordinance. And he must swear that he will not so advocate or affiliate at any future time while in the employ of the city of Los Angeles. Nor is that all. The ordinance further requires the employee to sign an affidavit stating whether or not he is, or ever has been, a member of the Communist Party or the Communist Political Association and, if so, when. Failure to take the oath or execute the affidavit results in dismissal. No trial or hearing is provided to determine if the recalcitrant employee is in fact guilty of any of the transgressions covered by the oath or affidavit.

This ordinance was sustained in its entirety by a Court majority composed of Justices Vinson, Reed, Jackson, Clark and Minton, with Clark writing the opinion. Black and Douglas expressed total disagreement. Frankfurter and Burton joined the majority only to the extent of approving the affidavit requirement, finding the oath too strong for their constitutional stomachs. Thus, on the issue of the oath, constitutional sanction was mustered by a narrow five to four margin. Here was further evidence of the dark cloud cast over constitutional liberties by the untimely deaths of Murphy and Rutledge two summers ago. Had fate permitted them to continue voicing the eternal verities of freedom the chances are that at least the oath requirement of the Los Angeles ordinance would have been stricken.

The decisive judicial debate centered about the provision in Section 10, Article I of the Constitution, for-

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bidding a state from passing any bill of attainder. By accepted definition, a bill of attainder is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial. In an opinion marked by its unenlightened pedestrianism, the Court majority was unable to conclude that the Los Angeles ordinance, enacted pursuant to state authority, violated this section of the Constitution. Objections to the affidavit requirement respecting Communist Party membership were brushed aside with the bland statement that past conduct and loyalty are reasonably related to present fitness and trust in determining eligibility for public employment. As to the oath, the Court said the element of punishment without trial, which is of the essence of a bill of attainder, was lacking. No punishment was thought to be involved in discharging a public servant for refusing to sign an oath pursuant to a standard of "qualification and eligibility for employment."

The position of the majority was met head-on by Douglas and Black. They noted that the Court had previously and consistently held that punishment was involved in the deprivation of the right to follow one's profession, including that of governmental service. Here the Los Angeles city employees who refused to sign the oath or affidavit were punished by dismissal without a judicial trial. They were disqualified from office "not for what they are today, not because of any program they currently espouse, not because of standards related to fitness for the office, but for what they once advocated," assuming without deciding that they once did advocate violent overthrow of the government. As Douglas emphasized, "the vice is in the presumption of guilt which can only be removed by the expurgatory oath." Thus the punishment resulting from refusal to take such an oath bears all the elements of a bill of attainder which the Constitution forbids. Frankfurter and Burton took more limited views as to the illegality of the oath, with Frankfurter invoking the due-process clause.

The Supreme Court has now effectively sustained the basic constitutionality of governmental loyalty purges. Public officials may now safely dismiss those employees who for any reason refuse to sign loyalty oaths and affidavits; and they may dismiss employees whose loyalty may reasonably be doubted following a hearing in which nearly all elements of fairness and due process have been extracted. Few if any holds are constitutionally barred in this ruthless drive to confine the intellectual and political freedom of public servants within the rigid bounds of unquestioning patriotism.

If there were some reasonable relationship apparent between one's proclivity to sign loyalty pledges and one's true loyalty or fitness for public service, the Court's decision in the Los Angeles case would not be so objectionable. But evidence of such a relationship is completely lacking. Oaths and affidavits are being collected daily from public employees, only to gather dust in the files. Apart from the exposure of one subversive garbage collector in Detroit, the obsession with oaths and affidavits has had no effect upon the removal of subversives from public employment. If there are Communists in the government, they do not shrink from signing loyalty oaths.

The ones who invariably suffer the penalty of dismissal are the high-minded individuals who revolt at the thought that their loyalty can only be demonstrated by clicking their heels and executing an affidavit. And then there are those who are conscientiously opposed to the taking of any oath. They are the ones who are forced to leave the public service, making public service the poorer. They lose their jobs, their reputations and the respect of their fellow men. But the damage wrought by this orgy of oath-taking penetrates far deeper than the loss of a relatively few employees whose devotion to the Constitution and their consciences is greater than their willingness to knuckle down before a notary public.

The greater damage lies in the deterioration of the American spirit of freedom. The very fact that loyalty oaths are required and that loyalty hearings are held tends to contract that freedom. Public employees who know that they may suffer dismissal and irreparable damage to their reputations if they think the wrong thoughts, join the wrong organizations or associate with the wrong friends inevitably tend to conform their thoughts and actions to the conventional norm. Freedom cannot long flourish where conformity is the price of meaningful existence.

That the Supreme Court has lent its power and prestige to this ugly process is a devastating commentary on the caliber of the Trumanized tribunal. Much of the effective legal bulwark against these assaults on freedom disappeared when the Court lost Murphy and Rutledge. The burden which they helped to carry is simply too heavy to be borne by Black and Douglas alone. Without the solid foundation of those four votes, the decimated liberal wing of the Court is growing more helpless under the growing wave of reaction and the growing list of weakened or overruled precedents. On occasion Frankfurter and Jackson may lend their hands, but the hands are most unpredictable and unstable.

Justice Black has been warning for some time, as he did in his short dissent in the Los Angeles case, that the Constitution's great guarantees of individual liberty are being weakened by the present majority of the Court. It is time that this warning be given heed.

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THE WEEK

COMMUNISM AND THE COURT

The Supreme Court, in upholding the convictions of the 11 Communist leaders, has narrowed the meaning of the First Amendment to the Constitution and settled, for the present time at least, the constitutionality of the Smith Act. In so doing, the six Justices, forming the majority, and the two dissenters disagreed over the applicability of the "clear and present danger" doctrine of Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis to the activities of the Communist Party in this country.

The Court majority—Justices Vinson, Reed, Burton and Minton with Jackson and Frankfurter concurring—held that the First Amendment is not violated when men are punished because they have entered into a "conspiracy knowingly and willfully to advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence" as expressly prohibited under the Smith Act. Justice Vinson said that even though the Act punishes advocacy rather than overt acts, it is not in violation of the First Amendment. To argue that the Act was "too vague," as counsel for the Communists had done, was not persuasive coming from "petitioners [who] intended to overthrow the government . . . as speedily as the circumstances would permit," Vinson said. To emphasize the argument that the conspiracy to teach and advocate is a crime and does create a "clear and present danger," the majority borrowed the interpretation of Chief Judge Learned Hand, whose Court of Appeals decision the high court was upholding: "In each case [courts] must ask whether the gravity of the 'evil' discounted by its improbability justifies such invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger."

Justice Jackson pointed out the perils which have befallen free countries that have waited until there is a "clear and present danger." He said the test applied to old-time anarchists and is not adapted to deal with Communist plotters. "I think direct incitement by speech or writing can be made a crime, and I think there can be a conviction without also proving that the odds favored its success by 99 to 1, or some other extremely high ratio." Justice Frankfurter weighed the interests of "national self-preservation" against the advantages of free speech. In upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, Frankfurter stated that "in finding that Congress has acted within its power, a judge does not remotely imply that he favors the implications that lie beneath the legal issues." He came to a seemingly painful conclusion that a law restricting free speech should be given the same "presumption of validity in the courts" as any other law.

With fewer words, the dissenting Justices Black and Douglas challenged the majority on the meaning of the First Amendment, on the interpretation of "clear and present danger," and on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. Both pointed out that the 11 top Communists were not convicted on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government (which could have led to prosecution under the country's conspiracy laws) but rather that "they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications to teach and advocate . . . overthrow of the government."

"No matter how it is worded," said Justice Black, "this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold [the provision] of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied." To sustain such a law "waters down the First Amendment so that it amounts to little more than an admonition to Congress."

Justice Douglas argued that the First Amendment does not mean that the nation need "hold its hand" until it is too late to protect itself from revolution, but "the command of the First Amendment is so clear that we should not allow Congress to call a halt to free speech except in the extreme case of peril from the speech itself." He pointed out that Communism as a political force in this country has been destroyed by free speech: "The people know Soviet Communism; the doctrine of Soviet revolution is exposed in all its ugliness, and the American people want none of it. How it can be said that there is a clear and present danger that this advocacy will succeed is, therefore, a mystery." Since the question of "clear and present danger" seems to be so critical, Justice Douglas rightly asserted that it should have been put before the jury or at least a judge. He contended that the Communists in this country are known to the FBI and could be picked up overnight in the event of war, that they have so little prestige that they could not win a village election, that they are "the least thriving" of any fifth column in history. "Free speech—the glory of our system of government—should not be sacrificed on anything less than plain objective proof of danger that the evil advocated is imminent," Douglas said.

Although the Smith Act is now upheld, the Communist Party as such is not outlawed by this decision. The Department of Justice has no plans for "mass" prosecutions, despite the statement by Attorney General Howard McGrath when the Court's decision was handed down that "this is a good day for loyal citizens and a bad day for the conspirators." Those who felt that the high court blindly reflected the tenor of the times found comfort in one observation by Justice Black that "public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

ITALY: DUBIOUS VICTORY

Moscow lost the first round of Italy's nationwide local elections. Yet what happened in Milan, the largest city involved, suggests that it may be wiser to wait a while—perhaps until the third and final round of the elections next autumn—before celebrating the final downfall of Italian Communism and the glorious rise of Italian democracy.

The Communists lost control of the Milan city and region which they had held since the last local elections in 1946. They also lost control of the administrations in Genoa, Venice and many other places. The decline in their effective political power is unquestionable. But no less unquestionable is the fact that they fought in vain to hold that power under conditions that took much of it away from them before they marched their cohorts to the polls. A complicated and tricky election law, adopted over their screaming protests in the Chamber of Deputies, gave all the breaks to the parties "affiliated" under the leadership of Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democrats, who of course had the full and open support of the Vatican.

As the Manchester *Guardian* pointed out on the eve of the voting:

> Not only are clerical and age-old anti-clerical parties welded in the government alliance, but when you go to vote you do not notice that fact.

And the London *Times* commented on the moral of the first round:

> That the Communist group was beaten, in terms of majorities, was due to the larger association of parties ranged against it. The associated-lists system, in which the total of the votes won by each of the associated parties is added together, has certainly paid a good dividend to the democratic side in these elections.

Yet, though the Communists lost power—and that undoubtedly is a tactical gain for the West in the prestige aspect of the international Cold War—they did not lose popularity. As has often happened in the past, the State Department's confident prediction that fewer Italians would vote for the Communists and their allies, the Socialists led by Pietro Nenni, turned out to be wrong.

In Milan, the full weight of Catholic political power and prestige was thrown against Togliatti in favor of de Gasperi. On the orders of Cardinal Ildefonso Schuster, special religious services were held in every parish of the archdiocese during the three days before the election. The ecclesiastical authorities were instructed to get out the vote against "the enemies of the Catholic Church and of Italy." On the day before the election all children in the parishes received holy communion and prayed for "the salvation of the Catholic Church and of the country."

The goal of the campaign was not only to win Milan (and other cities) from Moscow but also to roll up a big vote for the clerical pro-Vatican party, the Christian Democrats. It succeeded, but only to the extent that Milan (and other cities) gave a "combined and affiliated" vote larger than the Communist-Nenni Socialist total. Otherwise it failed, and the failure is important if the domestic Italian political situation is to be appraised accurately.

In Milan the Communists and their allies polled 289,104 votes as against 278,564 in the national election of 1948 (when the State Department as well as the Vatican was working openly against them). Although de Gasperi's "combination" won, the Christian Democrats dropped more than 100,000 votes in a total of about 750,000; the "combination" beat "the enemies of the Catholic Church and of Italy" only because other, less pro-clerical parties in it gained strength.

The Liberal Party, which despite its name is far over on the political Right, gained some 40,000 votes. What is more significant—and disquieting—is that the neo-Fascist MSI—the Italian Social Movement—also gained nearly 40,000; and its successes elsewhere make its leaders—de Marsanich, Mieville and Almirante—no longer ridiculous in their "nostalgia" for "the bad old days when things were better."

It is not easy to see the result in Milan as a triumph for democracy—except, of course, that it is better to have the Communists out of office. Moreover, though Milan was lost to Moscow it doesn't seem to have been won by the Vatican. If there was anything clearly evident in the results of the first round generally, it was a drift away from the clericalism of de Gasperi. His party lost more than 40,000 votes in Genoa, 30,000 in Venice, 25,000 in Bologna; and in these same places, the Communists gained votes—about 15,000 in Genoa, 10,000 each in Venice and Bologna.

Of course, these cities, though large and important, are only a sampling of the final results—the whole of the Southern part of the country and sections of the Northeast and Northwest will not vote until October. De Gasperi split the election into three parts on the theory that step-laddering the results would clinch his grip on local offices, hence strengthening his party's monopoly against Communism.

There are, however, suggestions in the results of the first round that the pattern of the Italian struggle for democracy may be changing. Nenni's party, which spearheaded the anti-clerical counter-drive against de Gasperi, is farther removed from Muscovite control than Togliatti's; the fact that Nenni held and gained more votes than Togliatti may mean a new trend on the far Left. The neo-Fascist and Right built the basis of a new, stronger reactionary opposition that may attract like-minded men away from de Gasperi's sprawling, amorphous Christian democratic "movement." And the strength of the new democratic socialist party may pull away from de Gasperi men like Gronchi, Dossetti and other "progressives." There is a chance, therefore, that the present political formations will gradually break up, and be replaced by a real Right, a real Left and an authentic Third Force.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE BATTLE FOR FRANCE

by Lionel Durand

IN JUST a few days, on June 17, the French people will go to the polls. Male and female voters will elect a new Assembly to replace the one which, since November, 1946, has made it hard for any coalition government to rule. While one-third of the legislative body was controlled by the Communists, sharp differences between the other parties have forced eight successive cabinets out of existence in less than five years.

The electoral campaign is to be short and bitter. Throughout Paris, wooden planks have been set up in the streets and on the avenues to serve as billboards. Political posters, put up and torn down and put up again, are already an inch thick on many walls.

A large portion of the population, mainly moderate in its views, is showing a lukewarm interest in the contest. One reason may be that many people have an uneasy feeling about the new electoral law which theoretically favors the middle against both ends.

It is not rare to find on a common list a Socialist candidate next to a rabid Catholic "Republicain Populaire." People who spent their finest parliamentary hour in the Assembly fighting one another on issues like social security or the Indo-China War are now eager to stand together for another five-year ride.

The parties which took part in the coalition governments—from the Socialists to the Christian Democrats—have chosen a platform based primarily on domestic issues. They stress progress toward economic stability, the increased buying power of the franc abroad and other concrete evidence of the country's amazing comeback since the war and the occupation. The Communist Party, which obviously has not been entirely free to choose its own platform, is using French versions of Soviet slogans for "peace," and against "German rearmament," the war in Indo-China and "the American invasion."

General de Gaulle and his candidates have taken up both domestic and external issues in their bid for power, as their campaign is directed both at the Communists and the government parties. The general public, confronted with 2,000 candidates and more than 700 lists, is still a little bewildered, and it can safely be said that a number of voters will wait until the last moment to make a choice. The national radio has allotted 10 minutes of air time to each of the 14 national parties for their electoral propaganda. The Communist Party, however, is also using stations in Prague, Budapest, Warsaw and Moscow for its selling job. These four stations broadcast nightly a two-hour program recorded in Paris, with songs, speeches, political jingles and roundtable discussions by French Communist politicians and artists.

Several factors are at stake in the elections which will make the situation fluid up to the last minute. The women's vote is one of the unknown quantities. Although only 140 women—75 percent of them Communist Party members—have been put on the candidates' lists, female voters outnumber male voters by 2.5 million. High prices will influence their ballots and sentimental appeals of the Stockholm-Peace-Pledge variety may play a not inconsiderable part in their choice.

The big question mark, of course, is Gen. Charles de Gaulle. Some observers have claimed that the wartime leader of France has lost touch with the people. Living in splendid isolation in the small village of Colombey-Les-Deux-Eglises, de Gaulle has put in only a few appearances in public or at press conferences in Paris. Many of his first followers have expressed anxiety over his capacity again to rally France around his personality. Yet it is becoming increasingly clear that the General de Gaulle movement is a new and important force in its first electoral contest. Large campaign funds have been raised, and the "Rally of the French People" has now woven a tight organization around the country. Its candidates have chosen some of the strongholds of the "third force" candidates in which to wage battle. Obviously General de Gaulle would consider it of great significance if some of his followers were to triumph over candidates such as George Bidault or René Pleven, whom he considers traitors to his cause.

De Gaulle, against all expectations, is not running for a seat in Parliament. Half a dozen generals, including the former French military governor of Germany, are among his party's candidates. His backers include people from every group of French society. His opponents do not under-estimate his potential appeal as an honest man with complete integrity, little interest in money and an uncompromising record as a staunch fighter for French prestige abroad. Can General de Gaulle succeed in convincing the large group of people who still see in him a potential dictator? Much will depend on his campaign.

In the last few months, according to sources close to

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him, General de Gaulle has accepted the counsel of the moderate fringe of his party. He has been careful to quiet the fears of big business on his capital-labor association scheme. He has made contact with influential men in Washington to reassure United States circles as to his allegedly anti-American attitude and is said to have told American leaders that his recent speeches are to be considered only as electoral ammunition and that his actual views on internal and international matters are more moderate.

General de Gaulle expects to win between 150 and 200 seats in the next Assembly. He thinks that with control of one-fourth of the Chamber of Deputies, he could force the non-Communist parties to accept him as head of the government. As the Prime Minister heading a coalition government, de Gaulle would probably seek to upset the present make-up of the Assembly in order to rule with a comfortable majority. Some observers believe that his ultimate aim is to become the next president of France. If this were true, he would undoubtedly try to extend the powers of the chief executive in France so as to make the highest office more decisive than it is now. What he would have in mind would be something along the lines of the Presidency of the United States.

If de Gaulle does obtain the number of seats which he hopes to win, the world at large may have to adjust itself to a few changes in France as he gains more influence. De Gaulle's philosophy is based on his complete distrust of political parties. He is convinced that France has suffered from the rising "confusion of political strife." His main job, as he is reliably represented to see it, would be to remove the influence of parties on the French economy, social life, foreign policy and military decisions.

De Gaulle has offered little light on his intentions, and as a platform in the coming elections he has done practically nothing but criticize the "third force" and the "separatists," i.e., the Communists. His domestic policies, however, would certainly include a stiffer attitude toward the Communist Party in order to eliminate what he has called "a state within the state." As a man who has always shown a deep interest in foreign affairs, his ideas are somewhat clearer on international issues. Fundamental to his thinking is a deep mistrust of Great Britain. His wartime life in London, where relations with the British Government were not always smooth, has kept him in the belief that England's chief aim was to divide Europe. De Gaulle would probably put more stock in a complete Franco-German agreement, on which could be built a continental federation of nations.

American observers in Europe have been particularly anxious to determine what General de Gaulle's views were on military and strategic problems related to Atlantic defense. In public statements, the General has endorsed the Atlantic Pact, while giving hints of condemning some of the Alliance's practical results. Obviously, de Gaulle would demand a larger share of responsibility for France in the Atlantic Command, and he would probably be willing to exchange this for larger French commitments. If he were again to play an important part in France, the American policy of "containment of Communism" would find a stronger supporter in him than in former governments which had to contend with the views of several parties. General de Gaulle's was one of the few voices raised here in defense of Gen. Douglas MacArthur when the latter was fired by Truman.

However strong a showing de Gaulle's candidates may make in the forthcoming elections, no one here expects him to sweep the country. The alliances formed by all the parties in order to keep both Communists and de Gaullists in check will make it hard for the undecided to cast a vote for either of the extremes. Yet most observers predict that the two extremes will, in the end, be strengthened by the almost pathetic efforts of the partisans of a Parliamentary regime to save both their jobs and their power.

What seems to this writer to be the most probable result of the French elections is an Assembly divided into three parts: the de Gaullists, the moderate and traditional parties and the Communist bloc. That no government will be able to rule without the support of the de Gaullists is already abundantly clear. Things may be so bad in the Assembly that new elections may be necessary within another year. De Gaulle is said to hope for this next round, in which he would expect to have a decisive victory. Therefore, unless de Gaulle's candidates win as little as 50 seats, the General is bound to play an important part in the coming years. As an influence, he would be regarded by many as just the force France needs. As an absolute power, he may find that the core of the French people is still made up of individualistic democrats who resent authority as soon as it is forced upon them.

The elections will probably be de Gaulle's last chance to play an important part in France's political life. If he fails to make the grade this time, there is a strong likelihood that his name will vanish. Even his followers, who have been waiting for this contest for five years, would probably resent a defeat which would leave only two alternatives open to de Gaulle: either to seize power by force—and it is far from sure that he can achieve that—or, as a fellow general has ably put it, "just to fade away."

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COMPROMISE IN IRAN

by Iain Colquhoun

THERE IS a Persian Oil Company in Iran. It does not produce any oil.

In contrast, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government holds 51 percent of the shares, produced 31.75 million tons in 1950 when Iran accounted for six percent of the total world output of oil. The refinery at Abadan is the largest in the world.

This production is important for Iranians, as well as for the world. Forty-five years ago the area where the company operates in Southwest Iran was an uninhabited wasteland. Today 120,000 people live around Abadan alone. The company, with some 70,000 persons on its pay-roll, is the largest employer of labor in Iran. It imports into its area practically all the necessary foodstuffs, clothing and other commodities required for the 170,000 people dependent upon it. The royalties it pays form approximately one-third of the total revenues of the Iranian state. Payments since 1933 have been made under a new concession negotiated that year and confirmed by the Majlis—the Iranian Parliament. In 1947, these mounted to $21 million, but the basis of payment had become unsatisfactory to the Iranian government, which felt that it was being cheated because the company was placing large amounts of money in its General Reserve. Accordingly in 1949 a supplemental agreement was signed but not ratified by the Majlis.

The question was considered again by the Majlis in June, 1950. It was referred to a Parliamentary Commission whose chairman was Dr. Mossadegh, the present Premier, and several of whose members were National Front representatives. The commission duly reported that it was not in favor of the Supplemental Agreement because it did not safeguard Iranian interests. The Bill of Ratification was, therefore, withdrawn from the Majlis. The commission was ordered to devise a plan and to report in two months. Meanwhile, a company offer of $84 million in advance royalties was accepted, and a first payment has been made.

In December, 1950, however, the Arabian-American Oil Company made an agreement with Saudi Arabia which virtually split the profits of Arabian oil fifty-fifty between the state and the company. These terms at once attracted the notice of Teheran. The Iranian Prime Minister had discussions with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in the course of which the company agreed to consider a new agreement which would divide its profits equally with the Iranian Government.

These conversations, however, never had a chance to come to anything. On February 19, 1951, Dr. Mossadegh proposed his nationalization resolution to the Oil Commission. On March 7, General Razmara, the Prime Minister, was assassinated, and the next day the commission accepted the resolution. The Majlis followed suit a week later under the Premiership of Hussein Ala.

From that time on the tempo of events increased. No attempt was made to present to the Iranian people the text of the Supplemental Agreement. To this day they have no idea of how much it offered them. Strikes broke out in the oil fields and in Abadan. Lives were lost. On April 26 the commission approved the text of a nationalization bill. The next day Hussein Ala resigned. Mossadegh succeeded him, and by May 2 the bill had become law.

This news, which abroad was at first regarded as rather a good joke against the nationalizing British Labour Government, was received in Britain with considerable fury on the part of most citizens. In this atmosphere it has been easy for certain sections of the British press to beat the jingoistic drum. The drumming has not spelled out any constructive suggestions, but it has thumped into some heads another grievance against the government.

The government, however, has behaved calmly and with common sense. No matter how much Herbert Morrison might have liked to celebrate his accession to the Foreign Office by sending off a gun-boat in the best Palmerstonian tradition, he has restrained any such schoolboy impulses. Instead he has taken the precaution of staking Britain's legal claim before the International Court, and he has done what he could to promote in Teheran an atmosphere in which things could be talked over.

His line of action has no doubt been suggested in part by the knowledge that under the existing 1933 concession, which is the only legal basis for the current activities of the company in Iran, its property in that country will revert to the Iranian Government when the concession ends in 1993.

Morrison knows that the nationalization proposal, especially in the long view, does not involve Britain in tragedy provided certain conditions can be observed. These are:

That the investors and taxpayers who have put money into the company receive fair compensation;

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That the flow of Iranian oil can be maintained and the refining and worldwide marketing organization of the company can be preserved in working order;

That for prestige reasons, which are very important, any new arrangement shall be reached in an orderly way.

On these terms the British are entering negotiations with some reasons to hope for compromise.

In the first place, if the Iranians nationalize without the agreement of the company, their action is almost bound to be held illegal by the International Court.

Secondly, the Iranians cannot run their oil industry and market the oil by themselves. There is little doubt that they had hoped for American help. This has now been denied them. A few free-lance experts in production and refining can be had from France and Switzerland. But even if enough of these were available to run the industry, they would not solve the problem of marketing.

The marketing of Iranian oil demands a tanker fleet and a worldwide sales organization. Iran has neither and has access to neither. Her neighbors cannot take her oil. Russia might be glad to try, but the Iranians, who may dislike the British, certainly fear the Russians. They are not likely to turn to Moscow except as a very last resort. And even if they did, it would be difficult for Russia to fill the gap left by the company. Russia has no adequate tanker fleet. She might build a pipeline to the Caspian—if she could find enough steel and pumping machinery to take it across two ranges of mountains. But this at best would take years.

The loss of the refining capacity of Abadan would be serious, but here the heaviest blow would fall not on Britain or Western Europe, whose local refining capacity is increasing rapidly, but on India, Pakistan, South Africa and on parts of Southeast Asia where there is almost no refining plant worth speaking of.

The continental countries of Western Europe draw about 20 percent of their oil imports from Iran; Britain takes about 25 percent. Thus some six million tons of crude oil a year would be required from other sources to make up to Europe for the failure of supplies from Iran. This would certainly present formidable problems. But they are not insuperable. The crude oil production of Saudi Arabia is now nearly equal to that of Iran and that of Kuwait is creeping up. The company has a half interest in Kuwait and has marketing rights to one-third of Iraq's oil. A concentration of tankers or the extension of the pipelines of these countries would enable their output to be considerably increased within 12 months. In addition, production is rising rapidly in Venezuela, and if tankers were available some of the additional Venezuelan oil could be brought to Europe. But this would create petroleum shortages on the US East Coast. The loss of Iranian oil would have the effect of creating either some dangerous or many serious shortages all over the world.

A similar situation exists in the matter of refining. Abadan refines 25 million tons a year and is the only significant source of high-octane aviation fuel in the Middle East or Southeast Asia. Britain and Western Europe, however, are already increasing their domestic refining capacity rapidly. New plants coming into use this year in Britain may make her capacity equal to Abadan's. On the continent the same would be true by the end of 1953. But these facilities are needed for Europe's rearmament effort and will not offset the loss of Iranian facilities.

The effects upon Britain of arbitrary nationalization in Iran would not, of course, be limited to oil supplies. No very great reliance can be placed upon compensation from Iran—whether agreed or unagreed by Iran. After the sacrifices of two world wars, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is Britain's greatest remaining foreign asset, valued at from $1 to $1.5 billion.

Faced with the nationalization bill against this background the British Government really has only one broad course of action open. It must seek immediate negotiations with a view to getting the company placed in the position of a lease-holder in Iran, or even of an agent of the Iranian Government. The objects of such arrangements would be to ensure that the flow of oil is not interrupted and that the management of the oil industry would remain in the hands of British experts until Iranians can be trained.

Such a policy would not be without risks. If the company became the agent of the Iranian Government to exploit Iran's oil in the South, the Russians would have a strong case for claiming a similar privilege in the North. This is a risk, however, that may have to be run. It is not in fact as serious as it looks. The Iranians would be very loath to open their country to Soviet agents. If they did do so, it is unlikely that Russia would either increase her popularity in Iran or would get a very great deal of oil. Strategically, the presence of her agents in Northern Iran would not be a disaster. Many of them are there already, and in the event of war the Russians could walk in whenever they liked.

Some form of agency agreement for the company seems a probable solution, and is certainly the best way out for Britain. The Labour Government cannot oppose nationalization in principle. The best it can do is to fight for its own ideas of methods by which nationalization can be fairly carried out.

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PAPER PROFITEERS

by Jean Begeman

THE DOLLAR-A-YEAR men and the full-time executives from the pulp and paper industry, who have been making government policies on the production of newsprint, have been called to account by a Congressional committee investigating monopoly. Wood pulp is now officially classified as a "scarce material, vital to meeting defense production goals." The National Production Authority lists wood pulp, along with iron and steel, aluminum and other vital metals, as a critical item because it is a "key raw material for paper, paperboard, rayon cellophane, explosives and thousands of end products necessary for both the defense program and important non-military uses."

In one of the most detailed and thoroughly documented investigatory reports ever received by Congress, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.) and the House Subcommittee on the Study of Monopoly Power, which he heads, have revealed how the tight control of newsprint by a handful of American and Canadian producers has created a dangerous worldwide shortage of newsprint and prevented the expansion of pulp production.

A Senate subcommittee on newsprint had previously put out a preliminary report entitled "Supplies for a Free Press," pointing out the effect of the newsprint shortage on the decline of a competitive press. "Paradoxically," that report said, "the increase in circulation of daily papers has been a concomitant of a decrease in the number of papers." From 1929 through 1944 while circulation was increasing, approximately 200 newspapers suspended publication or merged with other papers. "The result has been the nearly complete elimination of competition from the daily newspaper field. By 1945, in the cities having daily newspapers, there was a competitive paper in only 8.4 percent, or in about 125 cities. . . . It is plain from these figures that the present trend among newspapers is toward fewer papers, bigger papers and larger circulations."

Celler's House committee found that the damage caused by the newsprint scarcity extended beyond the United States where demand has reached unprecedented heights. "It is a worldwide disease which has plagued the free presses of the entire world." The United Nations Economic and Social Council has emphasized that the shortage has hampered the dissemination of information—a vital part of our "campaign of truth" abroad.

The decline of newsprint production in the United States is clearly indicated by the fact that in 1926, a peak production year, there were 39 mills in operation; the number had shrunk to 28 by 1933, to 20 in 1941, to 13 in 1947, and today only 11 newsprint mills exist in this country.

The United States must turn to Canada for more than 80 percent of its total newsprint needs. Of the 19 Canadian companies operating 35 mills (with a total capacity of 4.5 million tons) more than half of the capacity comes from four companies—International Paper Sales Co., Consolidated Paper Sales, Ltd., Abitibi Power & Paper Co., Ltd., and Price Bros. & Co., Ltd. Most of the Canadian mills service "contract companies" in the United States through subsidiary corporations known as "sales companies." The International Paper Co., for example, produces all its newsprint in Canada through a subsidiary, the Canadian International Paper Co., which in turn sells the bulk of the newsprint through its own subsidiary—International Paper Sales Co., Inc., now a Quebec corporation but formerly incorporated under the laws of New York. Price Bros. & Co., Ltd., services its 102 US "contracts" through Price Bros. Sales Corp. of Quebec with an office in New York.

Since most of the newsprint contracts are with large publishers who account for the greatest proportion of tonnage, small publishers must rely upon paper merchants and jobbers for their newsprint supplies. And, the House report points out, "the major newsprint mills themselves have virtually abandoned sales in the spot market out of preference for contracts." Richard Doane, vice-president of International Paper Co., frankly stated to the House committee that "99.9, if not 100, percent of our business is contract."

In the US, multimill ownership is confined to two companies—the Great Northern Paper Co. in Maine and Crown Zellerbach (with two mills in the US and one operated by a Canadian subsidiary). Most of the US companies are either owned outright by publishers or substantial publisher investments have been placed in the enterprises, the report reveals. The big newspaper publishers have carefully protected themselves from any shortages: The McCormick Chicago *Tribune* and its affiliate, the New York *Daily News*, own all the stock of the Ontario Paper Co. The New York *Times* owns 49 percent of the Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co. Some 24 US publishers purchased all of the Class B stock of the Great Lakes Paper Co., Ltd., in Fort William, Ontario, and then entered into long-term contracts with the company. "The Hearst publications," the Senate report states, "refused to furnish any information to the Federal Trade Commission or to permit examination of

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their files, but it is reported that they owned a small mill at Murray Bay, Canada, and that they have since purchased other mills."

Both the House and Senate reports point out the difficulty of investigating ownership and control of newsprint producers since the operating companies are principally Canadian corporations. The Province of Ontario, where many of them are located, conveniently passed a law in effect forbidding newsprint producers to respond to any subpoenas or inquiries from outside Canada. When Donald Cook, vice-chairman of the US Securities and Exchange Commission, undertook an investigation of newsprint companies, he reported that, so far as data were available, it appeared that virtually the entire Canadian and American industry was interrelated through various common corporate relationships.

In the past there have been at least three anti-trust cases against American newsprint producers and distributors based upon combinations of restraint of trade and price fixing. Each resulted in a plea of *nolo contendere* or a consent decree. (The Department of Justice dropped a grand jury investigation because of the difficulties of getting evidence from Canadian companies.) The House committee found indirect evidence that newsprint prices are determined by consultation and agreement since (a) almost the entire industry uses the same zone system of selling; (b) sellers frequently employ interlocking contracts relating their prices to one another; and (c) the prevalent prices are substantially uniform with price changes usually occurring simultaneously. From the evidence gathered by the Congressional investigations, the established mill prices for newsprint have generally been lower than would have been reached in a free market. "While producers have deliberately held prices down," the House report says, "they have likewise recognized that such low levels were unattractive to investment capital." Despite the current shortage and the needs for the defense programs, the big producers have kept the price of newsprint at a level just low enough to avoid the possibility of attracting new capital that would increase productive capacity.

The House subcommittee recommends that the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission study the evidence relating to price-fixing agreements to determine the extent to which the present practices tend to lessen competition. It urges continued study by Congress "to see that the Pulp, Paper and Board Division of the NPA and other defense agencies concerned with newsprint adopt a program which will foster expansion and competition in the industry and not one which will merely promote the interests of presently dominant concerns."

LOW-COST AIR TRAVEL IS POSSIBLE

by Harry Conn

A WELL-LIGHTED airway toward low-cost, mass air transportation has been laid out by a Senate committee, but whether the Civil Aeronautics Board chooses to travel on it remains the object of speculation.

In a strongly worded report not yet released by Sen. John Sparkman's (D, Ala.) subcommittee of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, the CAB was asked to "reassess" its entire approach to air transportation; it specifically asked that the country's top air policy board re-examine its restricted view in applying subsidy "to provide high-cost, luxury air service for a small part of the population." The report was originally set for release last week, but the pressure of the powerful airline lobby and the CAB on the Senators has held it up and even threatened to change it. But, since a copy recently disappeared from the committee office it has become public property in Washington.

Harry Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington. During the war he was an officer in the Air Transport Command and worked with the scheduled airlines. This is the conclusion of a series of articles on civil aviation, both as a service and as it relates to national defense.

Since the enactment of the Civil Aeronautics Act in 1938 the CAB has largely conceived its role to be that of protector of the routes and subsidies of the originally certificated 16 domestic carriers and Pan American. In this capacity it has been mercilessly revoking letters of registration on and curtailing the frequency of flights of the non-scheduled or independent aircraft. The Sparkman committee has clearly called for a revised approach:

> Today the CAB can no longer confine itself to the fostering of civil aeronautics through the exclusive protection and regulation of select carriers. It has a direct obligation to the public to use its very considerable powers to develop reliable and economical air service on a greatly expanded basis. Should it fail at this point to develop policies toward that end, the board would, indeed, lend credence to the charge that it is servile to the interests of the certified airlines, and that it lacks the scope and daring required at this moment which sees American aviation stand at the threshold of vastly expanded development and service.

Never in the CAB's 13-year history has it felt so much pressure on its obsolete philosophy. Several days

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prior to the release of the Sparkman report, the federal courts enjoined the board from enforcing one of its latest regulations, rigorously restricting the frequency of flights of the non-skeds, which was set for effectiveness July 5. But the board still retains its greatest power, that of revoking the letters of registration of the non-skeds, and it can do this for the general crimes of flying too regularly and too frequently. The decision must now be made by the board. It must either comply with the wishes of the Sparkman committee or, feeling that the airlines lobby and its powerful connections in both the executive and legislative divisions of government are sufficiently strong, it can continue its present role.

The CAB has shown, in at least one instance, that it can bend some and allow free enterprise and justly regulated competition to take their rightful place in the air transportation business. This is in the field of cargo transportation.

Prior to World War II, air freight failed to reach even the proportions of a small business. The rates were high due to excessive operating costs, and none of the certified carriers was daring enough to enter the field. It was the challenge of World War II and the methods and techniques developed by the Army Air Transport Command and the Naval Air Transport Service which offered conclusive proof that air-borne freight was possible. In 1945, the service command carried an aggregate load of 1.8 billion ton-miles.

In contrast, the certified carriers in 1945 hauled so little traffic that a separate report of it was not even made to the Civil Aeronautics Board. With full justification that there was a new field for operations, veteran service transport pilots returned to the United States to develop an air-freight industry just as the non-scheduled carrier veterans sought to develop the low-cost air-passenger transportation business. Earl Slick organized his Slick Airways; Bob Prescott's Flying Tiger Line, Harry Playford's United States Lines and Charles Willis' Willis Air Service also became recognized names in the air-freight business. Earl Slick told his story to a Senate committee:

> From a standing start in 1945 without a base, a plane, an employee or a sales office, we were in commercial operation by the middle of March, 1946, and here is an astounding thing and a fact to be remembered when Mr. Smith of American Airlines and the other airline executives talk about "pioneering" which they have done in air freight. At the end of 20 days of operations, on April 1, 1948, we were hauling more freight than any other airline in the business, certificated or non-certificated. We continued to haul more freight, month by month, than anybody else until American finally caught up with us in the last few months in 1949. . . .

In 1946, 10 non-certificated freight carriers hauled 27 million ton-miles of air cargo compared with 19 million ton-miles for all the certificated passenger carriers put together. In 1947, they continued to hold a slight superiority in total payload over scheduled lines, but a tense battle was being fought for the air-freight business.

American Airlines, the giant of the domestic certificated carriers, pitched into the battle. With a splurge of publicity such as only American can develop, the big line announced the formation of its Contract Air Cargo Division in the middle of 1946. It proclaimed that its rate would be the lowest of any line and talked of 11 cents a ton-mile. The postwar freight rate then was 18 cents, one half of the prewar rate, and there was some hope of pushing it down to 14 cents. American, comfortably supported by US subsidies and profits guarantees, was out to push its poorer competitors out of the business. Some of the irregular freight lines fell, but others stayed. Slick went to 10.4 cents, under-pricing the biggest of them all, and American finally gave up the 11-cent rate talk, a price they never actually put into effect. Earl Slick admits that this fight cost his company $500,000. The cost to American Airlines and the American taxpayers has never been made public. Finally a 13- to 16-cent rate was established.

The gains in the air-cargo field since 1946 and 1947 have been phenomenal. Three former irregular lines, Slick, Flying Tiger and US Airlines, have been certified by the Civil Aeronautics Board as non-subsidized carriers—the classification which all the irregular transports are now seeking. In 1950, they flew 70 million ton-miles as compared to 36 million ton-miles in 1949 and 27 million ton-miles in 1946. To fully illustrate that these former irregulars are not "skimming the cream," the 16 originally certificated carriers increased their freight haul to a whopping 286 million ton-miles in 1950. At low rates and high volume, under justly regulated competition, air freight is being developed to amazing proportions. The same is possible with passenger carriers.

This is not the story in the international field. Last year, for the first time since 1929, United States international flagships yielded to foreign lines. US lines in 1950 carried only 43 percent of the world's cargo traffic, for example, compared to 54 percent in 1949. US international traffic increased only 1.6 percent in 1950 over 1949, while foreign lines were seeing a 53-percent increase in traffic. In passenger traffic the picture is similar although not quite so drastic. In 1949, United States lines carried 60 percent of the international traffic, but in 1950 they carried only 56 percent.

The above figures indicate that US international flagships are not losing their volume of traffic but that their

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progress is nowhere near as rapid as that of the foreign lines. It has been a subject of great concern among Pan American officials, who complain of the lower pay scales of foreign lines and the unbalanced competition of nationalized or semi-nationalized lines such as Air France, British Overseas Airways and the Dutch KLM.

If there is any airline in the country which could be considered at least a quasi-governmental agency it is Pan Am. For years it was the unofficial "chosen instrument" for American business and government, and just missed by a whisker being "the official chosen instrument." It developed routes, and routes meant markets. It was a creation of American big business. It had the protection of the government which spent millions of dollars constructing foreign air bases and facilities. Today it has little competition from American lines to spur it on. The TWA is the only genuine competitor, although Northwest is making a losing try.

The Civil Aeronautics Board's discouragement of international operations has been a major factor in this losing of ground. It has prohibited passenger traffic by the non-skeds. In addition, the largest international non-sked operator, Seaboard and Western, has been continually harassed by the CAB.

The determination of enterprising, young American pilots to find outlets for their businesses has led a number of operators to move their entire operations far from the scope of CAB authority. One company, Near East Airlines, has based its entire operations abroad, transporting large numbers of refugees into Israel. A number of other operators, both international and domestic non-skeds, facing the CAB restrictions, have sold their equipment to South American and European governments. J. R. Baldwin, chairman of the Air Transport Board of Canada, recently suggested that Canada be made the home for "tramp steamers of the air."

The failure to develop a large reservoir of transport aircraft within the United States has deeply concerned many observers and authorities on national defense. It bears a direct relationship to the basic attitude of the government toward civil aviation and has been the subject of extensive study and research by the President's Air Co-ordinating Committee and the National Security Resources Board.

A recognized authority on civil aviation and national defense, Lt. Comdr. Langdon P. Marvin Jr., speaking before the Army War College last February, clearly outlined the present critical airlift deficiency:

1. The M-Day requirements for airlift, as nearly as I can determine, are the equivalent of 4,000 C-54s.

2. We have on hand now in civil hands 722; military hands, 295; total of 1,017, about 25 percent prepared.

3. Leaving a deficit of 2,983, roughly 3,000, C-54 equivalents, i.e., about 75 percent non-prepared in airlift and that is the figure for the beginning of a war and not for several years after it's begun.

It is not difficult to surmise what an expanded civil air-transport service would mean to national defense. The Korean War jolted the problem home to the military. They learned how critical are the first 30 days. The scheduled airlines promised to make available sufficient emergency aircraft, but the supply failed to meet the full demands. In addition, a survey by the Military Air Transport Service showed that the military could not use 90 percent of the certificated carriers' aircraft until time-consuming modifications were made.

In its effort to expand the civilian aircraft of the country, the military is now expected to enter into contracts with the non-skeds for the purpose of transporting both service personnel and equipment. Amos Heacock, president of the non-skeds' Aircoach Transport Association, contends that this will be an extremely economical move upon the part of the Department of Defense. The over-all cost of transporting military personnel by rail, he estimates, is 7.3 cents per passenger mile. He states that the non-skeds will charge a low of 3 cents and a high of 4 1-4 cents per passenger mile for the service.

Probably nothing awakened the Sparkman committee to the vast untouched potentials of mass air transportation under a system of justly regulated competition more than the 340-mile route between Los Angeles and San Francisco. This route, an intra-state operation, was beyond the scope of the CAB authority, although CAA safety regulations apply. So non-certificated aircraft were permitted regular operations.

In January, 1949, California Central Airlines began flying the route at three cents a passenger mile, just slightly more than the railcoach fare. The certificated carrier flying the route under CAB authority, Western, in September, 1949, set up a subsidiary known as Western Air of California to meet the California Central rate. Healthy competition ensued. Both lines found it profitable. Approximately 60 percent of the travelers between the two cities now go by air in comparison to 43 percent in 1949 and 27 percent in 1948.

Today, those who possess the precious rights in the air are actively opposed to vast expansion of their enterprise. Rather, they are sparring for position, their vision magnetized on the vast air empire of tomorrow. Their goal is not mass and low-cost air travel today. But that goal is possible now. It has already been achieved in certain areas. The Sparkman committee points the way toward its full achievement. A vast public, hungry for air travel it can afford, is patiently waiting for that.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Senor Don Pat McCarran*

I HAVE HEARD doubts expressed as to the right of Spanish Ambassador de Lequerica to the use of the "de," but who can question the propriety of its use by Senor Don Dr. Pat de McCarran y Shea? Surely, if one can earn titles of nobility or sounding designations from a country not his own, the Duke of Nevada is entitled to an accordion-pleated length of "Senors" and "Dons" and "Doctors" and "de's." No one in or out of Spain could work more assiduously or more loyally for Fascist Dictator Franco than has Senor Don Dr. Pat.

"De" Lequerica has been guilty of a breach of diplomatic propriety for which the State Department should promptly have handed him his passport. But the State Department, as now constituted, will do no such thing. As a matter of fact, Lequerica, as a shadowless form, should not have been allowed to slink along the alleys and byways of official Washington for the years that he did as a pretended "Inspector of Embassies." His very presence constituted a contemptuous insult to a government whose severe setback at Pearl Harbor he had acclaimed in Vichy, where at the time he was Spanish Ambassador. As a matter of fact, Fascist Dictator Franco, beloved of such characters as Senor Don Dr. Pat de McCarran, could use, to better advantage, the money (paid in the end out of the United States Treasury) that he expends lavishly to support his titular ambassador to the US and his staff. He does not even need to maintain hireling lobbyists here. Senor Don Dr. Pat de McCarran y Shea really does the work. He is capable of anticipating the snap of the dictator's fingers. And if he should need assistance in running the errands of Dictator Franco, there are other members of Congress, to say nothing of Attorney General McGrath, who would feel flattered to share his menial tasks.

Recently, Senor Don Dr. Pat summoned to his office Deputy Undersecretary of State Carlisle H. Humelsine, as well as William B. Dunham, in charge of the Spanish desk at the State Department, to say nothing of Herbert E. Gaston, chairman of the board of the Export-Import Bank and Paul R. Porter of the Economic Co-operation Administration. Also present was the man toward whom our obliging State Department has never felt umbrage, let alone taken exception, Don "Et Cetera" Lequerica. Here was an impressive and effective pair for working both sides of the street, Don Lacquerer and Don Lequerica! Senor Pat was said to have been "affable and friendly" on this occasion, but even he admitted later that he had gone "a little out of line" in thus appearing in the role of "Senor Don Lacquerer."

Those commanded to appear knew better than to assert their dignity and stand on their rights as executive officials of high standing. They knew that Don Pat's "affability" was "feather-bedding" an iron fist, and they probably answered with becoming humility all of the questions asked of them, while apologizing for any inability to meet Senor Pat's searching questions. The Duke of Nevada explained later that he had not summoned these federal officers either as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, or as chairman of the State Department Appropriations Subcommittee. No indeed! They probably did not know that he was either, let alone both! Don Lacquerer and his fellow Franco lackey, Don Lequerica, were merely acting in their private and individual capacities, if the reader can understand what I mean. As convincing proof that this was purely private and not public business, Senor Don de McCarran restricted his inquiry, in effect, to "What the hell" had been done with the $62.5 million that he had picked out of the pockets of the American taxpayers last year for Dictator Franco? He needed this information as a prelude to another raid of $100 million upon the Treasury for the dictator whom he has served so well. (He did not want it for the purchase of wheat for friendly Indians who are on the verge of starvation.)

Secretary Acheson must know by now that he owes an apology to Senor Don Dr. Pat de McCarran y Shea, as well as to Senor Don José Felix "de" Lequerica y Arquiza, who slipped out of France as the Allied Armies were about to overthrow the Vichy Government. He has not been back to Paris since that event, and it will be remembered that his "buddy" in the Spanish Embassy, Senor Don Eduardo Propper de Callejon, was declared by the restored French Government to be *persona non grata* when tendered by Franco as Counselor of the Spanish Embassy. It is not beneath our dignity, nor does it hurt our self-esteem, to kiss on both cheeks the Senors or Doctors or Dons tendered to us by such a rotten government as Spain. Spain is so shaky financially that the New York banks which imprudently loaned Fascist Dictator Franco two comparatively small sums of money will lend nothing further. Even Fascist Dictator Franco's imitator in the Argentine, Peron, has shut off further credits. But we, ignoring the pleas of friendly India to what used to be American humanity, with Senor Don Dr. Patrick de McCarran y Shea calling the signals, pour our money into Spain while meekly submitting to her insults.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

LITERATURE: AN ART OR A SCIENCE?

by Raymond Mortimer

THE EDITOR of the *Kenyon Review* has chosen eighteen critical essays and fifteen book reviews from issues of his magazine published in the past year. To describe such a miscellany is peculiarly difficult for a foreigner who has seen only an occasional number of the *Review* and does not know from what preferences and exclusions it gains its character. Rather than classify individual performances, I shall try to make use of my ignorance and comment upon the climate of the book as it strikes a newcomer.

THE KENYON CRITICS. Studies in Modern Literature from the *Kenyon Review*. Edited with an Introduction by John Crowe Ransom (World; $4).

To an Englishman this climate is exotic. Lionel Trilling, for instance, whom I take to be one of the most thoughtful critics now alive, reminding me of Matthew Arnold by his castigation of the Philistines—Trilling finds it necessary to inform a Professor Fairchild that "Romanticism was far from worthless to that very Anglo-Catholicism which likes to be so short with it." I stand amazed, having been brought up in an Anglo-Catholic home. The Oxford Movement was a direct product of romanticism, particularly of Coleridge and Scott: "Sir Walter ploughed, and Newman followed with the seed-bag." Again, Trilling assumes that it has become impossible for most readers to accept Wordsworth's poetry. I, in my old-fashioned, insular way, have assumed that anyone with an ear for English poetry must delight in Wordsworth as one of our three supreme poets. Presumably we are both right —about our respective countrymen. A Tucarora Deep now separates American from English taste; and this is as it should be, for taste is the most innocuous expression of nationality. Nor is the gulf impassable: American scholars have been adding prodigiously to British understanding of Boswell, Coleridge, Shelley and Thackeray.

Now for an assumption that is not peculiar to either of our countries. In his preface, John Crowe Ransom twice takes it for granted that literature and literary criticism are two separate entities; and I fancy that most of his contributors follow him in regarding criticism not as an art but as a science. This fashionable view seems to me most bizarre. The great criticism written in the past gives pleasure as literature: and so, I suggest, does the best contemporary criticism. There is no way of proving scientifically that a poem (or a picture or a symphony) is good or bad. Every generation rejects the principles dear to its predecessors: all that endures in criticism is the happy expression of an acute sensibility and an enlightening intelligence. Nor do I believe that a good critic can be a bad writer. If a man shows himself blind or indifferent to the ugliness of his own style, how shall we value his judgment upon the styles of others? If only for this reason, F. R. Leavis (whose influence I seem to smell in some of the Kenyon critics) appears to me disqualified.

Ill-written criticism is characteristic of a civilization that discusses food in terms of calories not of flavor, because flavor cannot be scientifically determined. I notice, moreover, that sometimes these supposedly scientific critics can be betrayed by their absence of palate into errors that would not occur to the despised "impressionist" critic. In this volume, for instance, Robert Penn Warren takes from a Herbert Muller three very famous quotations, from Milton, Dante and Shakespeare. In the first he modernizes the poet's spelling—a solecism avoided even in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*. The second he gives in a version I have never seen before—"In la sua voluntade" instead of "E [or "E'n"] la sua volontade." In the third he actually writes, not "Our little life is rounded with a sleep," but "Our little lives are rounded with a sleep." Whether Warren invented these eccentricities or obediently copied them from Muller, they suggest a somewhat insensitive ear. How can they have escaped the notice of the editor of the *Kenyon Review* and its regular readers? Such unawareness confirms me in my preference for the criticism that does not claim to be scientific.

Some of the Kenyon critics write excellently, John Peale Bishop, for instance, and Austin Warren and Dudley Fitts and Auden. Most of the others seem little concerned with the texture or cadences of their language. And how seldom do they betray an eagerness either to receive or to communicate pleasure! In their approach to literature they might be biologists examining a specimen rather than potential friends or lovers responding to the qualities of an individual.

This puritanism is presumably due in part to the spirit of our age. Though the greatest painters from Botticelli to Renoir have delighted to depict attractive nudes, what respectable painter dares to do so today? Similarly, the modern novelist, careful as he is not to be mealy-mouthed, feels compelled to strip sex of all its blitheness. Addiction to the glum is now endemic, and how should the critic be immune?

This distrust of pleasure proceeds also, I believe, from the modern use of English literature as a subject for study in our universities. (And here the influence of our English academics has been especially noxious.) Examiners are bound to judge scholarship rather than sensibility; and, when literature provides the material for examinations,

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its chief purpose—which is to give delight—is easily forgotten. The teaching of English, however, would be less damaging, I suggest, if it employed the methods traditionally applied to Greek and Latin. Just as we learned to imitate Sophocles, Thucydides, Virgil and Cicero, everyone seeking an Honors degree in English would be taught to handle passably the styles of Pope, Steele, Addison, Tennyson, Newman and Emerson. Such a training, though it could not give a writer talent, would at least rescue him from clumsiness, cacophony and imprecision.

The methods actually in use have now created a vicious circle. Men who themselves write badly are seldom capable or even desirous of teaching others to write well. The effects of bringing our own literature into the university curriculum have for some while been all too plain in our criticism. They are such that to any boy or girl who dreams of becoming a writer I must proclaim: "Take any other subject at the university in preference to English."

Raymond Mortimer, author, among other books, of "Duncan Grant," is a regular contributor to the "New Statesman and Nation" (London).

BRITISH ME, TOO-ISM

THE CAUTIOUS REVOLUTION, by Ernest Watkins (Farrar, Straus; $5).

THE STORY is told that Churchill, leaving the House of Commons after Bevin's first speech as Foreign Minister, turned to a colleague with the quip, "My goodness, how fat Anthony has become!" No doubt apocryphal, yet the comment might be taken as the text for *The Cautious Revolution*. "On fundamentals," Watkins writes, the Labour Party has "more points of agreement with the Opposition than the reverse." He has a few reservations on internal policy; almost none on foreign and colonial policy. Though far from agreeing with Churchill in particulars—he has a number of sharp things to say about the revered old war horse—he yet holds Labour's policies to be far more British than Socialist. Had a Conservative Government occupied office since 1945 the tale would not read much differently.

On internal policy what little there was of Socialism mixed up with the Labour program he sees as merely a product of fear. This fear is essentially backward looking. It arose out of the long struggle for labor recognition which was capped by the bitter thirties, and now appears sicklied over with the pale cast of Fabian meliorism. At this point it is confluent with a welfare capitalism whose views on social matters have been a century or so shaping up until the Conservatives were able with equal caution to stomach even the famous Beveridge Report. Hence the bulk of the welfare and meliorative legislation introduced by the Labour Party—social insurance, health and housing, town and country planning, etc.—met with little or no opposition.

This same thesis he carries over into the various nationalization measures. While he does not argue that the Conservatives would have carried this program so far, he does make much of the point that they threatened, if returned to power, to denationalize only road transport and steel. These are not only lapses into socialism, but also into foolish concessions to Labour doctrinaires such as Aneurin Bevan. Parties being what they are, the followers must be kept in line with appropriate handouts, however silly the concessions might on occasion appear!

This is a strange reading of British history, even for a Britisher on the staff of the *Economist*. It is as if an apologist for Bismarck were to see in his pioneering social legislation a sudden conversion to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount instead of a tactical maneuver to destroy the rising socialist movement—which in Bismarck's own memoirs he admits it was. Disraeli was not so easily misled, nor were the Webbs when they saw in the rejection of their Minority Report on Poor Law Reform (1909) the futility of obtaining reform by persuasion at the hand of the Tories. Watkins, in effect, admits as much when he concedes that the Tories did not have and still do not have any constructive program of their own.

Watkins upholds his thesis more easily when he turns to Labour's foreign policy. Only in Attlee's rigid insistence on immediate and unconditional freedom for India did Labour steer to the left of the Tory position. In all other external relations—with the Colonies, the Dominions, the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union—they have seen eye to eye so far as the larger outlines of policy are concerned. Watkins feels that the Tories would not, of course, have made themselves ridiculous with such a misadventure as ground nuts; and Bevin's bullishness conspired with his old age and illness to make a mess of the Palestine issue and the hope for a British-led consolidation of Europe. At this point a bitter note creeps into an otherwise urbane approach. On the one hand Britain has missed a golden opportunity for taking the leadership in the postwar world, and on the other to instruct America on how to do the job. What he has to say about our failure in this regard would curl the hair of our superpatriots.

Withal the book is very readable, accurate as to detail, and should do much to quiet our witch-hunters who see in British Labour a doorman to the Kremlin. For the uninformed general reader who has not lost his capacity to see, it should go a long way to offset the hopelessly inaccurate picture given by our standard propaganda media.

ROBERT A. BRADY

Robert A. Brady is a professor of Economics at the University of California and the author, among other books, of "British Labor Postwar Planning."

THE SOUND OF PEACE

WAR AND THE MINDS OF MEN, by Frederick S. Dunn (Harpers; $2).

THE PREAMBLE to the Constitution of UNESCO, declaring that the cause of war is to be found in "the minds of men" rather than in the decisions of governments and that consequently peace should be sought by "peoples speaking to peoples," has impressed the imagination of many men in many lands. A conspicuous result has been a heightened effort to use for international understanding and toleration the media of mass communication which dictators have employed with alarming success for the purpose of aggression. Reconciling themselves to regarding mankind as imperfectly rational, men of good

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will have reluctantly taken up the unfamiliar tools of propaganda and infiltration. Out of his experience as Director of the Yale School of International Relations, Professor Dunn makes a friendly criticism of their "amateur methods and techniques," which disregard the investigations of social scientists, anthropologists and psychologists into human motivation.

He finds this amateurishness not only in neglect of the difference in cultural patterns which must make communication to every nation a special problem, but also in the choice of the means of communication. The core of the undertaking is to discover whose minds are most open to change and how these minds may be addressed. Public-opinion surveys indicate that interest in international relations is greater among the groups higher in income and education. They have the more flexible minds, and furthermore the community leaders of opinion are to be found among them. Communications suited to newspapers, radio, television and the movies exercise little attraction on these groups, indeed may repel them; they are influenced by face-to-face talks with their like. Even among mass media suited to the less educated, the more "personalized" message is the more likely to succeed; radio, television and the screen are more effective than newspapers. These discoveries coincide with the practice of the Soviet Union in supplementing mass media with "oral agitators" numbering from two to three millions.

In the decision of the United Nations to resist aggression in Korea, Professor Dunn sees a great opportunity for UNESCO to operate as an agency of mutual understanding among peoples still permitted some range of free choice. While not slackening its use of the press, the radio and the films, it should become aware that its more important influence is likely to be direct, through interchange of teachers, students, artists and scientists. "It is frequently assumed," he concludes, "that any group which gains control over the media of mass communication can impress its views and attitudes on the general public at will. But even Soviet leaders know that this is a highly dubious assumption. The masses can display a notable capacity to remain indifferent both to the appeal of rationality and to the distortions of self-interested or irresponsible men." This is the central thesis of a comprehensive, closely reasoned, clearly arranged book which glosses over none of the complexities and difficulties of communication among peoples.

EMERY NEFF

Emery Neff is a professor of English at Columbia University and the author of "The Poetry of History."

THE TOLSTOY SONATA

THE TOLSTOY HOME: DIARIES OF TATIANA SUKHOTIN-TOLSTOY. Translated from the Russian by Alec Brown (Columbia University Press; $4).

TATIANA TOLSTOY'S diaries, covering the span 1878 to 1911, exemplify the thesis of *War and Peace*, that life in time goes on in spite of the tensions of war. In the foreground is the speaking portrait of the eldest daughter, from adolescence to her late marriage and maturity; in the background, seen mainly by indirection, is the domestic battle of Leo and his wife Sonya. The central interest of the story is the impact of Tolstoy's sober philosophy upon the growth of this gifted, adorable woman. When the diaries open, the father is fifty and the girl fourteen; the last entry is a commentary on Tolstoy's death: the wheel has turned full circle and Tatiana is nearing the age of her father at the beginning of the tale.

Six of the Tolstoy children lived into their forties and five of them wrote memoirs in which their father inevitably played the leading role. But only Tania published her story in diary form, jotted down irregularly in the flush of life, where the inconsequential but revealing detail mingles with the moan of her troubled heart. Her record is fullest during the years 1882 to 1898. But the diaries are also eloquent for their omissions. The flight and return of Tolstoy at the time of Alexandra's birth is passed over; likewise the death of the saint-child, Ivan; and Tolstoy's last illness—described by Tatiana elsewhere. Other family events (such as the move to Moscow and the impact of *The Kreutzer Sonata*) are seen primarily through Tania's eyes. The new material on Tolstoy's disciples, "the dark people," makes Sonya's rebellion against them quite comprehensible.

Throughout the narrative Tania emerges as the bridge between her father and mother. Like Leo she was an artist, a person in her own right, with compassionate imagination. ("My heart like a nerve laid bare, takes everything in, feels everything.") Like Sonya she was deeply feminine, unable to renounce sex-love and child-love. ("Often my heart. . . . cries for its own slavery.") Wise Tatiana summarizes the relationship of her parents in these words: "What a strange combination, these two! It is rarely one could find two people so different, yet at the same time so profoundly attached to one another."

ANITA MARBURG

Anita Marburg, for many years a teacher at Sarah Lawrence College, is writing a biography of Leo Tolstoy.

FICTION PARADE

BARBARY SHORE, by Norman Mailer (Rinehart; $3).

A YOUNG MAN who does not know his own name or his own past, but suspects that he has lived through war and catastrophe, and is determined to become a writer, takes lodgings in a Brooklyn Heights rooming house in an effort to live in solitude and discover his own potentialities. But his landlady, a blowsy ex-showgirl named Beverly Guinevere, promptly involves him in fantastic and mysterious adventures with her little daughter and with the other tenants, including McLeod, a cultured window-dresser, Hollingsworth, a snoopy Wall Street clerk, and Lannie, a psychotic girl from nowhere. Everyone becomes involved with everyone else, and the strange summer ends tragically for McLeod and Lannie.

Such is the surface story of Norman Mailer's new novel, which is genuinely comic and bawdy, and yet succeeds in capturing the flavor of a New York summer with a careful attention to the psychological complexities of metropolitain people strongly reminiscent of Saul Bellow's *The Victim*. But Mailer's story, like Bellow's, is a parable of our times. Layer is on layer, and we no sooner learn that Hollingsworth is "really" an FBI man tracking McLeod, who is "really" a professional revolutionary, than we begin to discern the outlines of the hun-

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ter and the hunted: the hunter bears the foulest stigmata of the culture patterns imposed upon us by our rulers, while the hunted carries within him the scars of a generation of radicals. At once capitulator and incorruptible, Stalinist and Trotskyist, McLeod re-enacts, in his verbal battles with Hollingsworth, a chapter in the tragic history of our age. Inevitably both policeman and revolutionist are found to be enmeshed with the landlady, squawking symbol of man's passionate attachment to the vulgarly real and the incorrigibly romantic. Even Lannie, whose suffering at the hands of policemen and radicals alike has made of her a pathetic Ophelia, and the narrator, who briefly becomes her lover, are driven to seek refuge in the landlady's arms. In the end it is the narrator who is bequeathed McLeod's socialist heritage and awaits in silence a happier future.

Mailer's prose is plain and powerful, but the complexities of his theme will unavoidably make portions of the book obscure to even the most patient readers. One suspects that at least a part of the murkiness may be caused by his failure to assimilate fully and as a personal attitude the involved political problems which are discussed in his book at exceeding length. Nevertheless we must pay him honor for spurning the easy success that could so obviously have been his, in order that he might dare to fail, grappling with questions of man's fate as a serious writer and demanding unflagging attention of his audience.

SHEEP ROCK, by George R. Stewart (Random House; $3).

NO DOUBT we have all, at one time or another, found ourselves in a haunted spot whose inaccessibility, grandeur or evidence of previous human habitation has led us to speculate on its long history.

George R. Stewart, an adventurous writer who evidently enjoys his work from conception to planning to execution, has translated this kind of idle speculation into an oddly interesting and unusual novel. His newest off-trail book (*Storm, Fire, Earth Abides* were some of the others) is the story of a boiling spring in the far reaches of the Western desert country, from its prehistoric beginnings to its unsuccessful invasion only yesterday by an ambitious poet and his family.

While Stewart insistently dissociates his intentions from those of historians or naturalists, his latest novel inevitably invites comparison with such books as Donald Culross Peattie's *Immortal Village* (which sketched the history of a Province village over the last 50,000 years). What is immediately apparent is that he is more daring than his predecessors, for he has to make a novel out of an isolated geographical formation only occasionally visited by human beings.

He has interspersed his narratives of the pathetic transients whose artifacts, from arrowheads to silver bullets, litter the bleak landscape, with speculation and solid information on what happened to Sheep Rock and Sheep Rock Spring during the important periods when no human beings came near. It is a tribute to Stewart's special kind of skill that he commands attention as readily in these passages as in his more ordinary descriptions of greedy prospectors, starving Indians and questing intellectuals. But it must be stated also he does not do too well with people; the moody poet-protagonist, with his heavy philosophizing and his impossible desire to write an epic poem about Sheep Rock, is a bore.

Nevertheless Stewart, like a pitcher without a fast ball who wins games by using his head, overcomes this handicap. *Sheep Rock* will hold the attention of those who are intrigued not only by the tour de force, but also by the imaginative and lively re-creation of histories hitherto considered beyond the province of the novelist. HARVEY SWADOS

MOVIES

Cold Turkey

ALTHOUGH it obviously draws some of its details from the scandals and the wrecked careers that surrounded the murder of the silent-film director, William Desmond Taylor, there is nothing "inside" about "The Hollywood Story." It is a stock-model mystery designed for Richard Conte and neither better nor worse than others he has done—routine, that is.

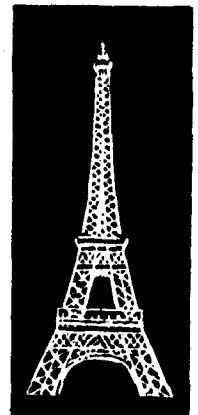
A famous New York director (Conte) comes to Hollywood to make his first picture and, at the derelict studio rented for him by his agent, runs into the almost-forgotten story of an

"The best book of its kind in existence."
—ARTHUR MIZENER,
author of The Far Side of Paradise

EXILE'S RETURN

A LITERARY ODYSSEY OF THE 1920's

by Malcolm Cowley



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Originally published in 1934, *Exile's Return* is an informal and personalized history of the "lost generation" that illuminates, through personal memoir and anecdote, the current of ideas that moved beneath the tumultuous literary life of the time. For the new edition Cowley has rounded out the story with new material on Ezra Pound, Scott Fitzgerald, Hart Crane, Harry Crosby, and others. A new introduction and an epilogue sets the period and its genuine achievements in perspective. $3.50

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unsolved murder that occurred on that very lot 22 years earlier. He determines to base a picture on the old crime and right away people start cajoling him, threatening him, shooting at him through the curtains. Eventually he finds the killer (which the police should have done for themselves long since), marries the daughter of the woman in the case, but complications in the solution of the crime force him to junk his epic.

Julia Adams, satisfactorily pretty, plays opposite Conte; Henry Hull, looking surprisingly slender, and Fred Clark, looking bald and evil as always, assist him. Francis X. Bushman, Betty Blythe, William Farnum and Helen Gibson appear as themselves in an awkward little "stars of yesterday" sequence, but no real use is made of the Hollywood background; it's seen as just a big manufacturing town where murders sometimes happen.

For reasons that may be as valid as they are inscrutable, United Artists is sponsoring in this country a Franco-Italian colossus, "Fabiola," made from the hundred-year-old novel by Nicholas Wiseman. A remake of *Quo Vadis?* is also on its way to us, so perhaps we're in for a spate of toga spectacles. "Fabiola" sets a standard that will be readily surpassed.

This yarn of the indignities suffered by the early Christians (catacombs, hungry lions, pagan debauchery and St. Sebastian bristling with arrows) is as tedious and overpopulated a picture as I can remember seeing. It is also baffling, but that may be because great hunks were chopped out of the American edition (the original must be a monster). Michele Morgan and Michel Simon, the latter a French actor of considerable talent, are said to be in the cast and I think I caught glimpses of them among the "200 leading French and Italian athletes engaging in spectacular feats-of-arms of ancient times and 7000 actors, bit players and extras" advertised by the distributor. "Fabiola" is dubbed, a miserable device whereby English dialogue is painfully matched to the lip-motions of the foreign actors. As always, the result is ludicrously stiff and mechanically unconvincing. In this case, no harm is done.

The British thriller, "Interrupted Journey," is a broken-backed affair (it comes to an end after 35 minutes and then starts up all over again) in which a pair of excellent British actors, Valerie Hobson and Richard Todd, are forced to grapple with a series of physical and emotional improbabilities that make stuttering wrecks of their performances. It also commits the sin of maneuvering the hero into an impasse and then revealing that the whole business has been a bad dream. In whodunit circles, that is tantamount to fraud.

ROBERT HATCH

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MUSIC: Italian Spring

WHATEVER the tourist folders may allege, Italy is no longer a place (if it ever was) where every fruit vendor and day laborer sings "La donna è mobile" in a melting tenor. Nor does the sound of serenading fill the evening air. American cinema holds greater fascination for the common man than Italian opera, and the young bloods are too busy hurtling about on their motor cycles and "motoscooters" to have time or breath for singing in the streets.

Opera has become a diversion for the elite. Tickets at the celebrated Teatro alla Scala in Milan cost as much, in proportion to the average income, as those at the Metropolitan. Prices in Rome and Naples are almost as high. The mass audience goes without opera in the winter, waiting for such outdoor summer performances as those at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, which, like the Lewisohn Stadium and Hollywood Bowl concerts, are aimed at the low-income group.

But opera remains a cherished institution in Italy, and the very people who cannot afford to hear it are taxed for the maintenance of the chief operatic theatres. At La Scala the management, perhaps astutely, refuses to disclose the amount of its government subsidy. This year it was enough to provide 21 brand-new opera productions of gigantic scale and immense luxury, as well as several elaborate ballets. (The Metropolitan hopes to squeeze out four new productions next season.) Because La Scala is the queen of opera houses in Italy—if not in the entire world—it receives the most. But Rome, Naples, Genoa, Turin, Venice, Florence and various smaller cities also are granted substantial sums. For the six operas and four ballets of its six-week May Festival, Florence was allotted upwards of $100,000. Not even the Paris Opéra is supported at this rate.

Discomfiting though the fact may be to opponents of state subsidy for the arts, this expenditure results, in the main, in a high standard of taste and competence. Though I have not seen

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any postwar German performances, I think it is safe to say that no finer artistic level is maintained anywhere, week in and week out, than in the chief Italian opera houses. At La Scala, which sets the pace for the entire country, the emphasis is placed on the perfection and integration of all the elements, musical and visual, of the ensemble. Stage direction, décors and music are successfully brought into the kind of interrelationship Rudolf Bing is now seeking to achieve at the Metropolitan. La Scala's singers are chosen for their musicianship and their capacity to work co-operatively, and only secondarily for their voices. The audience has been trained to let the performance proceed without interruption to the end of each scene; in the four evenings I spent at La Scala, applause after arias broke the continuity only three times, and then only momentarily.

Under the technical direction of Nicola Benois (son of the painter and scene-designer Alexandre Benois) the physical aspects of the staging, and notably the lighting, are handled with magnificent professionalism. Not in years have I seen a more superb spectacle than Borodin's "Prince Igor," given authentic Russian and Tartar splendor by the Benois settings and costumes and by the successful restoration of Fokine's historic choreography. "Madama Butterfly," newly designed by Tsuguji Fujita, was an honorable, realistic representation of the Japanese locale instead of the usual trashy *japonerie*. Moreover, Victor de Sabata conducted it, and it was amazing to discover how many of the values of the score we fail to hear at the Metropolitan.

The Florence festival aimed at the same standard of production, and might have attained it if the electrical staff had been more expert. Both Verdi's "Macbeth" and Schumann's "Genoveva" were staged by Gustaf Gründgens, a German régisseur who achieves two-thirds of his effects with light. When the cues went wrong, as they often did, it was hard to assess the merits of his work.

On the musical side, matters were more rewarding at Florence. "Macbeth," the first opera in which Verdi manifested the gift for dramatic invention that carried him through "Rigoletto" and "Aïda" to "Otello" and "Falstaff," turned out to be an exciting revival. As Lady Macbeth, Astrid Varnay of the Metropolitan sang with immense brilliance and fire, and gave the best dramatic performance of her career in the banquet and sleep-walking scenes. "Genoveva," a theatrical failure ever since its first presentation in 1850, probably would not have been resuscitated if it had not been by Schumann. The scattered moments of inspiration in the score could not save it from another failure, for the libretto is involved and clumsy and the orchestration hopelessly drab.

By no means all the attention in Italy goes to works from the past; in a little more than a fortnight, I stumbled on three contemporary operas. The best of the new pieces was "Ifigenia," by 71-year-old Ildebrando Pizzetti, the most distinguished representative of a past generation; it was eloquent and heartfelt, if at times a little slow-moving and thin in sonorous texture. The oddest was Mario Peragallo's "La Collina," a set of seven uniquely boring vignettes based on Italian translations of epitaphs from Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology*. The corniest was a Neapolitan version, by one Mario Persico, of Goldoni's classic comedy, "La Locandiera."

Lest it be supposed that I encountered a period of special activity, I should make it clear that almost any fortnight, from October to June, would offer a similar yield to one who visited three or four different cities. Thanks to the liberality of the government, a real renaissance of operatic production, along progressive and enlightened lines, is taking place. Perhaps the pattern of subsidy is not feasible for America, but without it our opera houses cannot be in the running with the Italian, or with any of the best European ones. The most we can do is to help the Metropolitan raise $750,000 to keep on giving "Aïda."

CECIL SMITH

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